

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

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SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DRC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7300

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NDJAMENA 2236

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CD

SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH PRESIDENT TOMBALBAYE

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT TOMBALBAYE RECEIVED ME FOR RAMBLING, HOUR-LONG EXCHANGE DEC 26 AT MY REQUEST. SUBJECTS COVERED WERE US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, DROUGHT RELIEF, STATUS OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES, CHAD'S IMAGE IN US, HOPE FOR MORE PRIVATE US INVESTMENT, PROSPECTS FOR FINDING OIL IN CHAD, TOMBALBAYE'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE "AUTHENTICITY" CAMPAIGN, DESIRE FOR CLOSER TIES WITH US (INCLUDING INVITATION FOR VISIT BY SECRETARY KISSINGER), PROTESTATION OF CONTINUING FIRM ANTI-COMMUNIST OUTLOOK AND PRIDE IN CHAD'S MEMBERSHIP IN FREE WORLD. DETAILS OF CONVERSATION WILL FOLLOW BY MEMCON. AID AND MISSIONARY ITEMS BEING REPORTED IN SEPTELS. END SUMMARY.

2. NEW DIRECTIONS: ALTHOUGH I HAD SPENT FULL DAY WITH PRESIDENT LAST WEEK AT DOBA ON OCCASSION OF START OF CONOCO'S FIRST DRILLING OPERATIONS, CEREMONY-PACKED PROGRAM PREVENTED ALL BUT MOST GENERAL TALK AND I HAD ASKED HIM FOR AUDIENCE CONFIDENTIAL

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DURING CHRISTMAS-NEW YEAR SEASON. I TOLD PRESIDENT I FELT NEED FOR TOUR D'HORIZON WITH HIM AFTER RETURNING FROM LEAVE DURING WHICH MANY CHANGES HAD OCCURRED IN CHAD, CHANGES WHICH HE HAD FORECAST TO ME DURING OUR LAST IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION.

WHEN I SAID I FOUND SO MANY FEATURES OF LIFE "TURNED UPSIDE DOWN" HE TOOK JOKING EXCEPTION AND SAID "REVIVIFIED" WOULD BE BETTER TERM. WHAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED SO FAR, PRESIDENT SAID, WERE ONLY FIRST STEPS HE INTENDED TO FOLLOW IN RIDDING CHAD OF INSTITUTIONS AND ATTITUDES INHERITED FROM COLONIAL PERIOD. HE ASKED ME MY OPINION OF NEW MNRCS (NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION) WHICH HAS REPLACED FORMER CHADIAN PROGRESSIVE PARTY (PPT). I SAID HE APPEARED TO BE FOLLOWING PARTY PATTERN SET BY PRESIDENTS MOBUTU IN ZAIRE AND BOURGUIBA IN TUNISIA, WITH WHICH LATTER I WAS MORE FAMILIAR. HE THEN QUIZZED ME BRIEFLY ON STRUCTURE OF DESTOURIAN SOCIALIST PARTY AND COMMENTED "AH, BUT THEY ARE SOCIALISTS; WE ARE NOT SOCIALISTS." I SAID THAT I WISHED HIM SUCCESS IN HIS NEW ORGANIZATION WHICH, IF PROPERLY STRUCTURED AND STAFFED, COULD BE POSITIVE FORCE FOR EFFECTING UNIFICATION OF CHAD'S DIVERSE ETHNIC ELEMENTS AS WELL AS MECHANISM TO INSURE GOC STAYED ATTUNED TO GRASS ROOTS OPINION AND NEEDS OF PEOPLE. I CONFESSED I HAD BEEN SURPRISED AFTER MY ARRIVAL HERE WITH MORIBUND CONDITION OF PPT. HE AGREED, ADDING PPT HAD BEEN CREATED TO CONTEND WITH COLONIAL SITUATION AND COULD NOT BE EASILY ADAPTED TO NEW STRUGGLE TO IMPLANT "TCHADITUDE" AND BUILD NEW INSTITUTIONS. HE WAS DETERMINED CHAD MUST "RETURN TO ITS SOURCES," HOWEVER COSTLY THIS MAY PROVE. HE WAS PLEASED WITH MAJOR FRENCH WITHDRAWAL FROM EDUCATION SYSTEM WHICH WAS NO LONGER SUITABLE FOR CHAD'S NEEDS. CHAD WILL NOW CONSTRUCT A NEW SYSTEM.

3. US-CHADIAN RELATIONS: TOMBALBAYE EXHIBITED HIS CONSTANT INTEREST IN IMAGE HE HAS IN US AND WAS DISAPPOINTED WHEN I REPORTED I HAD RECEIVED NO INDICATION US PRESS HAS COVERED "HISTORIC" CHANGES OF RECENT MONTHS, EXCEPT MURDER OF DOCTOR OUTEL BONO IN PARIS AND AMBUSH DEATH OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY VP EL GONI NEAR ABECHE. THIS PARTLY DUE, I SUGGESTED, TO FACT WE SEE NOT MORE THAN ONE OR TWO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS PER YEAR. I SAID I WOULD BE GLAD TO SEEK INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT FOR NEXT TRANSIENT AMERICAN JOURNALIST PROVIDING HIM OPPORTUNITY TO REACH WIDE US PUBLIC IF HE WISHED. HE READILY AGREED TO  
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INTERVIEW. HE THEN EXPRESSED HOPE US PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN WOULD TAKE GREATER INTEREST IN CHAD FOLLOWING EXAMPLE OF CURRENT SUBSTANTIAL CONOCO INVESTMENT. I TOOK OCCASION TO EXPRESS REGRET US BUSINESS FOUND IT HARD TO PENETRATE MOST FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN STATES BECAUSE OF REVERSE PREFERENCE PRACTICES, FRENCH MONOPOLIES AND SMALLNESS OF MOST MARKETS, BUT ASSURED HIM WE WORKED HARD TO ENCOURAGE SLIGHTEST INTEREST WE ENCOUNTERED AMONG US BUSINESS. THIS PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW FOR PRESIDENT ACTUAL AND PLANNED US EFFORTS IN AID FIELD (REPORTED IN SEPTEL). LENGTH OF LIST SEEMED TO PLEASE BUT SURPRISE HIM, INDICATING HE IS NOT KEPT VERY WELL INFORMED BY HIS MINISTERS ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE EFFORTS. HE WELCOMED NEWS OUR INTENTION TO HAVE PERMANENT USAID REPRESENTATION AGAIN IN

CHAD AND HOPED CHAD CAN PARTICIPATE IN ERTS SATELLITE PROGRAM. HE WAS PLEASED WHEN I INDICATED WE HAD ALREADY REGISTERED THIS DESIRE TO WASHINGTON. HE THEN ASSURED ME OF SOLIDITY OF CHAD'S FRIENDSHIP FOR US AND REITERATED HIS HOPE WE COULD NEVER ABANDON HIM BECAUSE HE EXPECTED LITTLE PROFIT FROM HIS RELATIONS WITH "THE COMMUNISTS." HE DIGRESSED TO TELL ME OF A CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH PRESIDENT NIMEIRY OF SUDAN IN WHICH HE WARNED HIS NEIGHBOR SUDANESE DEVELOPMENT HE HOPED FOR WOULD NEVER BE ACHIEVED WITH COMMUNIST HELP. COMMUNISTS WOULD ONLY USE THEIR PRESENCE TO FOMENT SUBVERSION AND DIVISIONS. CHAD CONTINUES CLOSE SURVEILLANCE OVER ACTIVITIES OF ALL COMMUNIST PERSONNEL. CHAD IS AND WILL REMAIN, PRESIDENT SAID, DEEPLY COMMITTED TO THE FREE WORLD. HE THEN ASKED ME TO ASSURE SEC STATE KISSINGER HE WOULD RECEIVE WARM WELCOME HERE IF HIS PROMISED 1974 AFRICAN TRIP CAN INCLUDE VISIT TO CHAD.

4. MISSIONARIES: WHEN I INITIATED SUBJECT OF RECENT EXPULSIONS OF US MISSIONARIES I REVIEWED USG POSITION FRAMED IN OUR NOTE POINTING OUT MY PROFOUND EMBARRASSMENT IN NOT HAVING BEEN TAKEN INTO GOC CONFIDENCE BY BEING ALERTED TO PLANNED EXPULSIONS. PRESIDENT SAID HE APOLOGIZED BUT HE HAD DICTATED CONTENTS OF NOTE TO ME THREE OR FOUR DAYS BEFORE FIRST EXPULSIONS TOOK PLACE AND WAS CHAGRINED TO FIND LATER I HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY MESSAGE. NOTE WE HAVE SINCE RECEIVED (BEING TRANSMITTED BY AIRGRAM) COVERS SAME GROUND AND RECITATION OF BAPTIST SINS WHICH PRESIDENT PROCEEDED TO EXPOUND. (DETAILS IN SEPTEL.) FINALLY, HE ASSURED ME CHAD HAD NOT EXPELLED AMERICANS REPEAT AMERICANS BUT RATHER PEOPLE WHOSE OPPOSITION TO CHADIAN NATIONAL

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OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN STUBBORN AND CONSTANT FOR MANY YEARS. HE SINGLED OUT DR. SEYMOUR AS "CHADIAN" AND "BROTHER" AND WAS PLEASED TO LEARN HIS MEDICAL WORK AT KOUMRA BEING CARRIED ON. MISSIONARIES WHO TAKE REASONABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD IMPORTANT TRIBAL INITIATION CEREMONIES LIKE CATHOLICS AND MOST PROTESTANT SECTS CAN CONTINUE WORK UNDISTURBED; OTHERS WITH SIMILAR ATTITUDES WILL ALWAYS BE WELCOME, PARTICULARLY AMERICANS AND CANADIANS, PRESIDENT SAID.

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